601 They call each other by terms which signify degrees of kinship on the father's side or by marriage, as father, brother, cousin; others they call companion [compère].

551 572 They never name a person by his name, particularly if he is related. If they are compelled to name him, they say only half of the word. They often adopt the name of someone with whom they have contracted a particular friendship or companionship.

198 They have a jargon or special language (1) which they use in

1. Rom. version: "corrupt language."

dealing with us, and which is Spanish, French, and Carib all mixed up together.

[50] CHAPTER III

Their Religion, or Rather Superstitions

762 [771] It is better to say that the Caribs have no religion, because they do not even know the word for it, nor for prayer, church, or worship. They recognize, however, something in the way of a deity to which they render some duty, not by any love but merely for fear he will do them some harm. At the beginning of every revel or feast, they offer him the first morsels of the banquet. In a corner they put a matoutou (which is a sort of low stool made of rushes like their baskets) for him and place the best cassava they have upon it, along with gourds full of ouicou [a kind of beer], which is their usual drink. They do the same when they clear a wood to make a garden. They believe that this god eats what they offer him. Even though they find it as they left it, they say it is not the same. They believe there are [776] male and female among the gods, who are many. They often consult them, whether for the success of their wars or for the end of their sicknesses. The gods answer them, but here is how: there are 756 ● 787 several of the Caribs, men and women, who are devoted and consecrated to these gods from their early youth, and who alone make them appear and speak to them. They are called boïé [boye] or boïarko, and they fast for a long time and abstain from many things.

756 776 787 Each boye has his god and sometimes two. These gods are all that these scoundrels want, and inflict sickness or cure whom they will. So when the Caribs want to know the issue of a war or a sickness they call a boye. This masquerader comes at night, carefully puts out all the fires around the hut, and enters with those who called him. The latter have already prepared a matoutou in the middle with the best cassavas and gourds of ouicou. Having entered, he sits down and taking some tobacco, crushes it in his hands, and blows on it while lifting it up with his [517] hands. Immediately the devil arrives and makes as much noise as if a man were jumping in the middle of the place while snapping his fingers and moving them all about. Then he speaks, answering what he is asked, and everyone hears him. If a sick person must die, he says he will die and does nothing for him. But if he is to get well, the boye and the devil (who sometimes appears to the sick person, but merely as a male or female savage) work energetically on the sick part, blowing on it and making believe they are removing palmetto splinters or whatever they imagine is causing the trouble. They also suck the sores and pretend to go outside to vomit the poison. With that the Caribs imagine themselves cured. This fine god, having made his replies, pretends to drink and eat what he is offered, and then, as if he had swallowed everything, shakes the gourds as if they were empty, and retires while stamping the ground and shaking his fingers. Our people find their cassavas which are on the matoutou and their gourds all as full as they were and say that this is different food. They think that it is a great miracle. They then eat and drink it before doing anything else. They say that this god or riosé once killed a man present at these consultations because he let loose a wind which displeased the scoundrel.

Sometimes they call several boyes, each of whom has his god. Then one blames the evil on the other and one hears the find gods argue about this, insult each other, and even, as it seems to the onlookers, fight.

Moreover, the devils even enter into the bodies of men to speak with their mouths. It once happened that a man was called half the night through the mouth of a woman lying in her bed; the woman remembered nothing of this the next day.

756 787 Several Frenchmen who have been present at these mummeries believe that the devil really comes and speaks and that these are not just tricks on the part of the boyes. Father Raymond being in the hut

756 of The Baron, who is one of the chiefs of Dominica, when they called
787 a boye for one of their sick girls [527] and made his devil appear, heard him speak in a very clear voice. He wanted to go in with a burning torch, but the women would not let him enter, and he did not want to insist, since he didn't yet know the language well enough.

The wife of this chief wanted to make one of her daughters a boye, with the help of another boye. But she could not, although the girl was willing and fasted as ordered. The old witch used for an excuse that the girl ate something that she had been forbidden to.

When the sick are cured, they give a feast for the boye, who sometimes also calls his devil to the celebration. The boye and this
[302 scoundrel, if he is there, blacken the sick person with dye from the
386] genipa tree to conclude the farce.

754 Some people do not call the boyes when they want to speak to the devil. Digging in the earth where they know someone is buried, they extract bones or hair of the dead person, and put them in a gourd which they plug with cotton. The devil speaks to them through these bones or hairs and claims to be the soul of the dead person.

With these bones they even cast various sorts of spells to revenge themselves against their enemies. Some take the left-overs from the meal of their enemy and put them next to these bones of the dead, which, as we have said, bewitches them. Others put in blood from a wound, as it happened with a Carib who came to find Father Raymond at Guadeloupe in order to be baptized. Since it was not possible, however, at the time to instruct him he was sent back. This man, wanting to avenge the death of his brother, entered a hut and stabbed the one he thought to be the murderer of his brother, but who was not. The parents of the wounded man were not able to obtain satisfaction, since the other had made off. They soaked cotton in the blood of their son and put it with some of these bones, and the assailant was overcome by a weakness that caused his death after two years.

776 Father Raymond and his interpreter, upon asking a boye named Sali how his god looked, were told that he was so old that his staff
821 was all shiny from having been carried so long. The boye said that his god was the cause of storms or violent tempests.

During an eclipse of the sun or moon, they say that [537] it is mapoya [maboya] who eats it (we shall relate in the last chapter

After having lived without any knowledge of God, they die without hope of salvation. It would be better for us to say that they have no religion at all, instead of describing as a cult of divinity all their trifling nonsense, superstitions, or more exactly sacrileges with which they honor all of the demons who seduce them.

However they have some feeling of a God more powerful than all those we will discuss, and they agree with us that he made the sky and resides there. Mr. de Rochefort says they make the following distinction: that the God of France made the sky of France and that the God of the Islands made the sky of the islands. I have talked with several men who share my sentiment that the Caribs do not make this distinction. The Caribs admit freely that god is gifted with such great kindness that he harms no one. Instead of elevating themselves by this knowledge they are indifferent to it, rendering honor and presenting their offerings only to the spirits from whom they hope to gain favors or from whom they fear spells.

It is a general belief that there are two kinds of spirits. Some are good and are called icheíri. The others are bad and are called mapoya or maboya. They believe that among these spirits a difference of sex prevails and that they multiply. They had once been men like themselves and are of diverse nations. When these spirits are called by their boyes [shamans], they sometimes bring their children's children's children with them. They further believe that it is within the power of these spirits or gods to make their manioc increase, and that they can come to help them in their sickness and aid them in their battles. They cause hurricanes and in addition poison and kill whomever they please.

The Caribs have among them certain charlatans who are called boyes, but are called priests, sorcerers, or magicians by Mr. de Rochefort. Since he states that these boyes don't offer any sacrifice and it is the special duty of priests to offer them, it seems to me that he would have better called them ministers like himself.

Most of these boyes, and this is the way they call these sorcerers, are dedicated and consecrated from early youth to this detestable ministry by means of fasts as well as by bloodshed caused by cutting themselves over all the parts of their body with agouti teeth. When one of these boyes wishes to make another man a boye this is the

756 way he does it. After having fasted, the boye makes his god descend
● 757 into the large common house which is oval with rafters which extend to the ground. It has only one door and no window. At the end of the house there is a matoutou which is a small table made of rushes or of latanier [a kind of palm]. The table is square with a width of a foot to a foot and a half on a side, and has a height of eight to ten inches. On this table the ordinary offering is prepared, which is fresh cassava and ouicou [kind of beer] in new calabashes. The boye calls his god by ordinary ceremonies [such as] singing a song which has a dismal tune. After that he blows a little tobacco smoke and immediately he falls down in the middle of the house like a sack of corn. At this time he [the god] is presented with a cotton hammock which is hung especially for him. Next the offerings on the matoutou table are given to him and the boye begins his speech-making and requests a god for the man he has decided to give one to. This man [the candidate] has also purified himself by very rigorous fasts. This being done the god or devil gives him a god who appears in the shape of a man. But if the boye is a woman he gives her a goddess which appears in the shape of a woman. It is not said among them that there are gods of all the Caribs, but rather that there is a god of such a man or a goddess of such a woman.

As soon as this new boye is consecrated, his personal god tells him a fable in order that his mind may acquire value. Brother Charles, who was at Dominica with Father Raymond [Breton], told me that he had become acquainted with one of these boyes who said he had a god named Yris who was one of the naughtiest among all these false divinities. He once asked him [the boye] where he obtained such a god, and the man replied that his father had had two of them and had left him this one by inheritance and further that his father also had given a goddess to his wife. He added that his god once entered the body of a woman and had carried her several times over the sun without her being blinded by its rays. Here she had seen several beautiful lands bounded by rocks from which bubbled an infinity of very lovely springs. The god had promised her that after her death she would live in these places with him. It is in this fashion that the devil misleads these poor unfortunate people.

755 When they wish to know the outcome of some sickness they call upon a boye, and after having purified and cleaned up the house

755 Often they suck the sick part and go immediately outside the house to vomit what they call the venom. In this way the poor sick person is healed more by imagination than he is in fact, and he is more bewitched than disillusioned. When this ceremony is entirely over, the devil of medicine stirs up all the food prepared for him and appears to be feasting although everything remains uneaten, as we have explained. Roughly kicking the ground he finally takes his leave shaking his hands and snapping his fingers.

776 It sometimes happens that a person summons several boyes, and
755 each of them causes his own god to appear. This is worse than the devilry of Chaumont, for these devils wrangle among themselves insulting each other a thousand times; according to the Caribs, they even come to blows among themselves. When this happen these poor barbarians become pale and are compelled to run away for fear of being involved and becoming subjected to very strong blows.

755 When the sickness is healed the cured man makes a banquet for the ichéiri or false god and the boye does not fail to be there. At the end of the banquet both of them blacken the cured man with Genipa apples and he becomes as beautiful as his medicine, that is to say as black as the devil.

776 A young French boy who lived among them as a slave for three or four years asked a boye one day to describe the appearance of his god. The boye answered him that he was so old, he was all bent and that his walking stick had become glistening under the weight of supporting
● 787 him. The devils sometimes lodge themselves in the bones of the dead, which are taken from a grave and wrapped in cotton. Oracles are rendered from these bones when the devil is questioned, and it is said that it is the very soul of the dead who speaks. These talking
754 bones are used to bewitch anyone who has angered them. This is the way they do it. They take the remains of the food or drink of the enemy, or any other personal belonging. When they have encircled the object with these bones the enemy immediately begins to loss his ordinary vigor, a consuming fever ruins him, and as the spell runs its course the man dies a lingering death. No one can give such a man a remedy for the recovery of his health.

754 Father Raymond [Breton] has seen a man who wished to take
627 vengeance for the murder of his brother. He made a mistake and

killed an innocent man instead of the man who was guilty. The relatives of the innocent man who had been so unfortunately murdered decided to take revenge, without considering that his death was caused by mistake rather than through malice. They reddened cotton with blood from the man who had been murdered and placed it with human bones. It was immediately seen that the murderer began to lose his healthy appearance. After a gradual decline in health and wasting away over a span of two years, he died just as he was planning to come to Guadaloupe and receive baptism from Father Raymond [Breton] who was staying there at that time.

The Caribs have ugly little dolls of cotton, and it is said that the devil speaks to them through the doll's mouth. They throw them into the sea when they plan to take a sea journey and if they sink to the bottom it is a sign of storm and of risk. If they float on the water it is taken as certain prediction of fine weather.

Mr. du Parquet, Lieutenant General for His Majesty in Martinique, assured me that the Caribs of the island had found in the caverns certain idols made of cotton and shaped like men. They had small grains of sea savonet in place of eyes and wore a kind of cotton cap on their heads. The Caribs affirmed that these were the gods belonging to the Igneri whom they had massacred. But no Carib dared to enter that cavern, and they trembled with fear when they approached it.

Mr. du Parquet having heard about it sent some of his people with the order to take these idols out and bring them to his house. The Caribs found out about the plan and were so terrified that they told their fears to the French who became uneasy, [with the result that] the first two to step into this cavern passed out in a faint. They were carried out half dead and the others dared go no farther. A little later braver people were sent who had not talked to the Caribs, and they entered the cave and secretly removed the idols.

These idols were the cause of a strange adventure which happened to a captain from St. Malo. Mr. du Parquet put the idols into a wooden box and gave them to this captain, without telling him what it was. He gave him [the captain] the order to send the box to the late Duke of Orleans with letters which he also gave him for this Prince. This poor captain, having been unlucky enough to be captured by a frigate out of San Sebastián, was taken to Spain. The

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

757 Colic: An infusion of the seeds or leaves of the bay tree (Carib, Achuru:
278 *Pimenta acris*).

Debility in women: A concoction made from the tuber called Carib (or red) chalotte (*Cipura* sp.?).

Lack of appetite: Water in which has soaked Cimaruba chips (wild quassia, *Simarouba amara*).

These are straightforward houshold simples. Others partake more of the nature of charms. Of the latter, the best known are: "Surette de montagne," a sweet-emelling vine found only in the depths of the high-woods, and "l'envers caraïbe" (*Maranta indica* sp.?), a rare species of small-leaved native arrowroot (not the ordinary white or red maranta) with reddish leaf stems and tubers that go straight down and are said to intertwine or "plait" themselves. Native tobacco and a stupefying variety of ivy, or caapi, are known, but are not, as far as I could learn, now used. Earth or clay is eaten [261] by some, but the practice is regarded as a vice by the community. On the other hand, many vouch for the good effects of one's own or another's urine, drunk warm, as a cure for poisoning or stomach ache (an emetic?); while others chew the gum of the gommier (*Dacryodes hexandra* and *Icica heptaphylla*) in order to improve their wind."

[832] An aphrodisiac, known as "poudre pine tortue" (powdered turtle's penis) is made and sold in the island.

●787 "A Carib does not dream for nothing," I was told. He believes his dreams announce or portend grave events affecting himself, his family, or his friends. It certainly is amazing how often such omens prove correct.

753 All serious sickness and death itself are looked upon, not as the
754 result of disease or age, but as the works of extra-natural agencies known as piaï. Thus, little confidence is placed in ordinary medical means of restoring health. The Caribs do not fear death, but are terrified at the idea of the hospital, and especially of being separated from their home environment in their last moments.

754 A piaï, to become effective, must be instituted by three persons—usually two men and a woman. The actual harm in any piaï is wrought by spirits who have, so to speak, no personal grievance, but, bullet-like, are merely unleashed and set onto a given person when he or she unwittingly touches some object—such as a stick or branch placed across the path—harmless in itself, but magically dealt with by the piaïmen in order to make it the agency for releasing the piaï. So one may, by good luck or cunning, escape a piaï intended for oneself, or fall, by ill chance, under a piaï intended for somebody else.

"They are taking life tonight," said an old Carib friend of mine the night he died of what I took to be a pleurisy brought on by the enforced wearing of wet clothes. I have often wondered whether he referred to the persons he believed to have bewitched him or to the death spirits themselves. Three years later (two weeks ago as I write now)

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

X824 Varieties of this species are cultivated for their fruits throughout the warm and tropical regions of both hemispheres.

[263] The Island Caribs generally cultivate pepper plants near their houses. The fruits are utilized both as a relish and for seasoning [278] sauces. It is also said that the expressed juice of the fruit (dropped into the eyes) was used formerly in cases of ophthalmia. Pounded pepper leaves, mixed with shark oil, are employed in the making of poultices for wounds and sores.

Specimen citation: no herbarium material collected.

Nicotiana tabacum Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 180. 1753.

Tobacco, Tabac Pays. — *iúli*, *iúri* (w), *itámăle* (m).

The tobacco plant, a native of tropical America is cultivated throughout the world.

[249] The Caribs grow this plant less today than formerly. Tobacco smoke is blown on ailing infants by midwives and other old women in order to make them well and strong. Tobacco juice is used as [278] an emetic, and was formerly drunk in dangerous quantities by [187] neophyte piai-men and candidates for chieftainship, both as a trial of endurance and « in order to see visions ». Powdered to- [782] bacco [the leaves were dried near the hearth fire (7)] was burnt on the blade of a paddle as a propitiatory offering to the « Maitre Tête-Chien » (anthropomorphic chief of all tête-chiens, the local boa snake (*Constrictor orophias*) and other spirits. It was also [276] used as a narcotic (for pleasure) by placing a little powder or a dried piece of the leaf, together with wood ash and moistened with sea water, between the inner surface of the lip and the gum (7).

Specimen citation: 151 (T).

Solanum melongena Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 186. 1753.

Egg Plant. — Belongène.

The egg plant is apparently native to southern Asia, but was introduced early from Spain to America (21). It is now widely cultivated in all tropical and subtropical regions.

[262 252] Caribs grow this species for its fruits which they eat chiefly in the boiled form. The plant is sometimes grafted on the weedy « batard belongène » (*Solanum torvum*).

Specimen citation: no herbarium material collected.